000 three banana trees.

192 764 231 [53] INKAMWA. When the father of a family dies, one of his sons or grandsons is chosen to put between his hands a jug of milk. The cow that has given this milk is called inkamwa. It is given to the one who has placed the jug of milk between the hands of the deceased and is not included in the division of the inheritance.

This cow cannot be sold or killed. Its young are not subject to this interdiction. If it dies, it is eaten by the Bahutu in the owner's rugo, and its bones are buried there.

Among the Bahutu a sheep is used as the inkamwa.

IY'UMUGANGU. When the father of a family dies, the eldest son slaughters a bull calf, which is eaten by the family. The skin is worn by the eldest son for two months so that the cows will not die like their master.

192 231 731 IY'UMULIRO and INSHUMBUSHANYO. 1) If lightning has destroyed the herd (or even one animal) held by the umugaragu, the latter can obtain from his shebuja the umuliro (lit., the fire cow), either a cow or a bull calf.

When several cows are given by the patron to indemnify his client, the first one is called umuliro, the others inshumbushanyo.

425 231 2) If the patron deprives his client of his whole herd to punish him for not performing one of his obligations, the umugaragu begs the protection of another shebuja who gives his new dependent a cow and a bull calf or only a bull calf.

192 731 231 IMPONOKE. When the herd of the patron, the provincial chief, or the king is decimated by cattle plague (muryamo), the abagaragu give some cows to fill the gaps caused by the epizootic disease.

192 231 766 [54] INDORANO (1). At the death of the king's child, wife, brother, and also in the case of death in a great chief's family, the provincial chiefs and the hill chiefs, if they are directly subject to the Mwami, each bring two cows to the Mwami, and only one in the other event. A cow is also given by the abagaragu. The cow given to a friend on the occasion of deep mourning is also called indorano.

1. From kurora, "to see."

361 and villages differ considerably depending on the quality of the soil. In the densely populated western districts one passes a cluster of homesteads every quarter or half hour, but in the thinly populated eastern districts one sometimes travels over an hour without seeing or passing a courtyard or a village.

363 One never sees many people outside, neither on the roads, near the grazing cattle, nor in the fields. Only close to the huts and within the kraals does one see people walking, standing, and squatting in groups. Old people 70 years old and older 145 are extremely rare. Very few seem to live beyond the age of 60, and this seems to be more often the case with the Batussi than with the Bahutu.

161 According to missionaries' reports, the population has been increasing during the last ten years or so, since the petty wars between the batwale and the princes and the invasions of the Banjaruanda and the Baha [Ha] have become rarer and less bloody. Only in the Tanganyika region which has been hit by 164 sleeping sickness has the population decreased considerably. 731 In the rest of Urundi the number of inhabitants is occasionally reduced considerably by smallpox epidemics or by crop failures, which are especially fatal to children, but such famines are relatively rare. In 1892, 1896, 1904-5 and 1908, rinderpest, bad harvests, and smallpox caused great devastations. In 1910 the distress resulting from drought in eastern Urundi was so great that the mission at Mujaga had to buy up large amounts of manioc and beans in Uha for their natives. Some travelers 181 claim that the majority of the Bahutu are waiting to be liberated from their conquerors. I cannot confirm this from my observations. [20] [Fig. 2 appears here in original text.] [21] The enthusiastic reception that the Bahutu gave at the time to the first European arriving there, Oskar Baumann in Urundi and Count Götzen in Ruanda, did indeed spring from the traditional hope for a great new conqueror who would usher in a golden age, but like all East African Bantu the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda do not in the least thirst for freedom. As has been mentioned above, they are submissive and dependent on others; they are happiest under firm authority and as accustomed to the discipline of their

[Text continues on page 31]

233 surviving animals for a long time to come, until the herds once more have become too large, the animals once more cannot find enough to eat, and natural selection by epidemics starts once again. This situation will not improve until Europeans introduce national methods of stock breeding.

The animals are conscientiously cared for every day. Every night fresh litter is provided in the pens for the herds returning from the pasture. The animals are scrubbed clean with straw whisks and searched for ticks and other parasites which may have attached themselves to the animals. The udders are washed each time after milking. While the cattle are standing in the kraals or drinking from the troughs, they are bothered by stinging flies; human beings, too, are attacked by these bloodthirsty tormentors. For this reason fires are kept burning in the kraals and near the watering places, the smoke driving away the flies. Such pillars of smoke can be seen rising from the farms everywhere in the morning and evening. From time to time the animals are given saliferous ashes to lick. Even in the pastures the herdsman is constantly occupied with his herd. He is able to give it all kinds of orders by shrill whistling. As a result of good treatment, the animals are in most cases very good-natured; they do not kick, and they keep still when something is being done to them. In the latter case one of the herdsmen usually uses his stick or reed to stroke the animal gently between the upper part of the hind legs. Despite their long horns, the animals also cause much less damage among themselves than one might expect. Even if they are crowded together when driven to or from the pasture, a constant muffled rattling and clanking of the colliding horns can be heard -- the characteristic sound of a moving Urundi herd -- but it is extremely seldom that the animals injure each
232 other. In case an animal is seriously injured or becomes sick and the owner himself is unable to help which, however, he is usually able to do -- a Mutussi or Muhutu who is skilled in medicine is called to act as a veterinarian. For his help he
232 is paid very well (Plate 25a). The Batussi, like all Africans,
731 are quite powerless against epidemics, especially rinderpest,

232 and as a result the devastations caused among the cattle by a
731 single epidemic are terrible. Thus, the rinderpest that ravaged the entire interlacustrine region, as well as Uganda and Unjoro, in 1888 killed two thirds of all the cattle, and since the Bahima live mainly on milk, blood, and meat, it is reported that almost two thirds of the Bahima also died of hunger (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 626).

Although the Barundi take good care of their cattle, they
232 cannot really be called good cattle breeders, as is sometimes done. The same is true for the Banjaruanda. The livestock suffers from an insufficient supply of new blood, that is, from the centuries-old inbreeding. It is true that the Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda, always select the breeding steers from a different herd in order to prevent degeneration, but there is still only variation within the same long-horned strain of cattle [44] and the blood is not freshened up by other breeds. Since also most of the bulls are not castrated, although castration is known and a special term exists for it (kuschahura), there are often weak bulls in the herds which cause the breed to deteriorate. The improvement of the breeds is not helped either by the fact that, as a result of the growing demand for cattle hides by traders, more bulls are raised which in former times used to be slaughtered or sacrificed when they were still young. Degeneration is especially apparent from the fact that there are a great number of sterile cows, both in Urundi and Ruanda. They can be immediately recognized in a herd since they have the longest horns. It almost appears as if the excess of strength which has not been spent on reproduction is channeled into making the horns grow to a gigantic size. Both in Urundi and Ruanda only the herds of the kings and of the high batwale are in really good condition as a result of constant selection and exchange. There are white, brown, and dappled herds. However, these are deluxe herds and not representative of the general run.
232 The designation, "holy cattle," which is often heard applied
778 to the king's herds, is as incorrect as it is when applied to the herds of the Musinga [king] of Ruanda. It is also erroneous in that not even the animals destined for sacrifice are taken from these herds. On the other hand there are holy cattle kept

241 433 [134] In spite of all this, the Barundi do not grow more crops than they need for their subsistence during the year. The soil is, for the most part, fertile red earth and, in the valley plains, dark gray alluvial soil or humus, except in the sterile and stony quartzite regions of the east. With or without artificial irrigation, this soil could produce much more if a larger area were cultivated. This is prevented mainly by the absence of trade. [56] Since there are neither markets nor organized trade in the large area of central Urundi -- only the Tanganyika region possesses both -- the Murundi could do nothing with what he produced beyond his own needs. Moreover, the Murundi does not anticipate bad harvests. Like nearly all Negroes, he never worries about the future. Since not even the hardy manioc (which, even in the driest years when everything else withers, still furnishes a good yield) is grown in large quantities, extensive areas are plagued by famine in poor harvest years. This is especially true of the arid quartzite regions of eastern Urundi. [797] Then the missionary stations (Mugera, Mujaga, and others) and the government try to help by importing grain (sorghum) from Uha and Usámbiro, but they still cannot prevent many people, particularly children, from starving to death.

731

241 423 Another important reason that prevents further expansion of agriculture can be found in the way land is owned, in the overruling power of the Batussi who claim, above all, grazing land for their herds of cattle. We shall discuss this problem later (p. 57).

241 136 Various efforts are made to protect the growing crops against pests. Weeds are cleared away; caterpillars, beetles, and snails are picked off; birds are frightened away by scarecrows which, for example, are made of gallows-shaped sorghum stalks tied one upon the other with dry, rattling fruit suspended from them. Large animals, however, like the wild boars and baboons in the mountains of western Urundi, are either kept out by fences or chased away by watchmen who walk around in the daytime and at night take up their positions in small huts perched on high posts. From there the guards from time to time set up a loud shouting or rattle with sticks. In the valleys of western

752 It seems more likely that, as in Ruanda, Ussuwi, and Kisiba (No. 31, p. 117; No. 48, p. 228; Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications] 1879, p. 393), they only perform a Caesarean operation on women who have just died in order to save the infant or at least to remove it from the womb so that it may be buried separately (see pp. 110, 140). Trepanation is unknown among the Barundi.

164 Many of the diseases from which the Barundi suffer are of an endemic character, for example, malaria, relapsing fever, leprosy, and sand fleas. Only a few appear as an epidemic, for example, smallpox and sleeping sickness, but their effect is all the more terrible since the Barundi do not know or apply any antidotes. Van der Burgt lists a whole series of diseases which occur in this region (No. 19, pp. 350-351), but he often uses different names for one and the same disease in its different stages. The following ones, in particular, should be mentioned: syphilis, fever, boils, inflammation of the eye, sores on legs and arms, epilepsy, cramps, leprosy, tapeworms and other intestinal worms, phthisis (ikihaha), dysentery, coughing, abscess on the vulva, diphtheria (?), inflammation of the testicles, gonorrhea, rheumatism, head porrigo, threadworms (filaria), omphalocele, elephantiasis, smallpox, insanity, loss of teeth, lithiasis, paralysis, catarrh of the frontal cavity, whooping cough, dropsy, blood in the urine, deafness, inflammation of the chest, leucorrhea and blennorrhea.

164 Of all diseases, smallpox (akaranda, akasibe) is the most
●731 feared. It comes in epidemics and depopulates entire districts, as, for instance, in the beginning of the 1890's when in Urundi, Ruanda, Karagwe, and other areas of the interlacustrine region many thousands of people were carried away. According to native reports a serious smallpox epidemic afflicted the country around the turn of the century. Less epidemic in nature but also
164 very much feared are the different types of inflammation of the throat (ikiwa) which should be described as angina and some of them perhaps as diphtheria. Often they quickly result in the infected person's death. Running pustules and boils (ikihoro,

164 these large "human reservoirs" of the highlands in order to
147 supply the plantations suffering from a chronic lack of labor. An attempt to do so would lead to results which would differ little from mass murder.

[144] The spread of sleeping sickness from the eastern
164 Congo to the western, lower regions of Urundi has had terrible
136 results. The carrier of the sleeping sickness, the stinging fly
• 731 Glossina palpalis, has infected the Ruzizi valley up to the vicinity of Lake Kivu, which is still safe, and the entire basin of Lake Tanganyika almost to the border formed by the surrounding mountains, and it also has spread to the stream and river valleys facing the lake as far as the eastern highland, for example, the valley of the Malagarasi. According to official reports on the development of our protectorate in 1912-13, the situation on Lake Tanganyika is such that, as a result of the considerable expansion of the infected area, the inaccessibility of the population, and also the difficulty of controlling the traffic with the infected areas of the Congo colony, the fight against sleeping sickness will continue for a long time to come. According to official sources, 3,303 new cases were observed in 1913, as compared with 3,560 cases in 1912. In the area of Lake Tanganyika there are probably a total of 200,000 persons suffering from sleeping sickness.

164 In 1911 I traveled through the infected areas of the lower
731 Ruzizi valley and in northeastern Tanganyika. I was horrified by the devastation that the disease had caused among the population which formerly had been so dense and had been so cheerful. Entire villages have ceased to exist, and the population of extensive areas have moved away or have been relocated by the government. The sick who have been collected in well-guarded camps by the government are slowly dying, and none of the remedies applied (Atoxyl, Salvarsan, and others) seem to have any beneficial effect. All economic activity has ceased, traffic and commerce have stopped, and the European firms which were active there have either gone bankrupt or moved away except for a few. After the railroad has been built to Lake Tanganyika, it will be possible to combat the spreading of the sleeping sickness

164 in the Tanganyika region with much better means and prospects
●731 for success, but it will take decades before the damage is repaired to any extent.

164 Fortunately the disease has not yet spread to the large
136 area of Urundi proper east of Lake Tanganyika, and it probably will not spread there in the future since the highlands of Urundi, Ruanda, and Uha are too cool for the Glossina palpalis to thrive and also because the conditions necessary for the existence of the fly, flowing water and shady bushes near the water, exist only in certain places of the highlands which are predominantly covered with grass. On the other hand, it seems to me that the great danger still approaching is that after the completion of the Tanganyika railroad the disease may also spread to the central areas of East Africa. Disease-carrying specimens of the Glossina palpalis, which at present is unable to fly across the dry steppes east of Lake Tanganyika, might be disseminated passively by being carried in railroad trains, as has happened in other countries with so many other epidemic or endemic diseases that were spread by means of railroads and ships. Then, if these infected flies find favorable conditions of existence at the eastern end of the railroad line, new nidi for sleeping sickness will be created. The situation may become even more dangerous if Glossina morsitans, the tsetse fly which is very common in the eastern regions, contracts the infection from Glossina palpalis and carries it farther. It has already been definitely proved in the southern part of our colony that Glossina morsitans may become a carrier of true sleeping sickness. If now, by [145] means of the railroad, the immensely large area where Glossina morsitans is common were infected from the direction of Lake Tanganyika, the consequences for the population of German East Africa would be incalculable. It is advisable to face up in time to this danger which is threatening us from western Urundi and the region of Lake Tanganyika. Otherwise reality might prove too much of a shock for us someday.

539 Tulek' intõke. Let us leave (alone) the banana trees (their roots) (1).

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1. Times of want are unfortunately frequent among the Blacks owing to their lack of foresight. They till the soil only for their own personal consumption. If a crop is ruined by drought or too much rain, therefore, they run out of food. The narrator describes one of those famines and gives it the name of "that which caused bits and pieces of hoes to come out (of hiding)," no matter how worn, to be sold to blacksmiths. One would then attempt to buy food in neighboring provinces with those meager resources.

Reference is made to the roots of banana trees which are dried in the sun after being struck with the handle of a hoe in order to remove the potash. They are then crushed on the grain-grinding stone and furnish an indigestible food which does not satisfy and does not hinder the end, which is death, unless this imitation flour is mixed in with something more substantial.

Second Example

539 Akasigo ko gutur' umwami. A small literary piece (on how to address the king when offering gifts to him).

643 All work in the fields is strictly forbidden. The chiefs were
765 in charge of this, and in order to show their zeal they would not have hesitated to kill on the spot any wretch who would have gone so far as to violate custom. If the fields were already plowed, one might
[689] at best sow the seeds or plant the seedlings, but the hoe could not be used.

A stick had to be used to dig up sweet potatoes from the
[731] ground. It is not overly surprising to hear that sometimes, in the past, famine resulted from this forced period of cessation of work.

II. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves (Cemeteries and Former Capitals)

1. Origin and Constitution of the Sacred Groves

766 Afther the death of a king, as we have said, his body is taken
778 into one of the sacred groves where a large hut is built to shelter the remains and to mummify them by desiccated prior to burial.

A courtyard is also built, enclosed with ficus branches which soon take root and which later give rise to a new thicket. Once the job of smoking is completed, the keepers of the hut bury what is left of the body inside the dwelling.

They remain there for some time afterward to prevent any desecration which they believe might still be committed. When the four months of mourning are over, the house is abandoned and the door is carefully barricaded on the outside.

The hut will stand for three, four, or even five years, /523/ and will eventually fall to pieces with age without anyone worrying about it. Before they leave, the royal undertakers plant inside the courtyard a branch of erythrina (umwuko) in honor of Ryangombe,
[824] the alleged founder of the secret society of initiates (imandwa), and a ficus (umuvumu) branch to recall the majesty of kingship (ngo n' umwami) by the height of its trunk and the span of its branches and leaves. The funeral grove is henceforth created or, if it already existed, a further unit is added, which in time will be one with the others.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

gives a density of 235·8 per square mile or 91·9 per square kilometre.[13] This density is among the highest in Africa, south of the Sahara.[14] What may we infer from these figures as regards the population at the beginning of this century? According to the available statistics for the last fifteen years, when the circumstances are favourable the yearly increase of Ruanda population may reach three per cent. This increased ratio could hardly have been maintained over the whole of the last fifty years, mainly because the 'favourable circumstances' refer to medical amenities, new hygienic practices and the reduction of famine. Such conditions were by no means prevalent when the Europeans occupied the country in 1899.[15] Even since 1935, however, events have not always been favourable, as for three years (1941–2–3) there was a decrease of population due to a severe scarcity of food. Consequently it seems safe to assume that during the decades preceding the European occupation, the population was already very dense. According to Captain Bethe, it numbered about 2,000,000 in 1899.[16] In 1907, Czekanowski estimated the Ruanda population at approximately 1,710,000.[17]

According to a detailed survey made by the Department of Agriculture, there are about 60,000 to 70,000 families (out of a total of about 380,000 families) more than can be adequately fed by the country.[18] There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there

[13] There is a census for the male and able-bodied adults who are taxpayers. To obtain the total number of the population (females, old people, and children) the number of taxpayers in each administrative district is multiplied by a certain coefficient which is determined in each case by a sample-census of a few hills.

[14] For comparative purposes, there are a few density figures for some African territories according to present political boundaries: Uganda: 52·8 per square mile; Tanganyika: 20·7; Belgian Congo: 12·9; Nigeria: 92·0; Sierra Leone: 66·5. All these figures, taken from Hailey, 1957, p. 143, refer to the years 1948-52.

[15] Captain Bethe, a German officer, obtained from the king in 1899 Ruanda's acceptance of the Imperial Government's protection. There was no treaty, only an oral agreement which was followed by a permanent occupation by the German authorities. The first Christian mission was established in 1900, at Isavi, by the White Fathers. Belgian troops took possession of Ruanda during the First World War in 1916. The Belgian occupation of Ruanda-Urundi was confirmed by the Orts-Milner Agreement in 1919. In 1924, Belgium agreed to administer Ruanda-Urundi under the supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. After the Second World War, Ruanda-Urundi became a United Nations Organization Trusteeship Territory administered by Belgium. Cf. Jentgen, 1947, pp. 9-11, 83-9

[16] Quoted by Czekanowski, 1917, p. 109n. [17] See Czekanowski, 1917, p. 114.

[18] This study is based on an estimate of the optimum cultivated area needed by a family, the quality of the soil being taken into account. A similar method has been used in the case of cattle. Cf. Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, pp. 343-7.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.